1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.) 000

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities. 618 614

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization. 614 [601] [576]

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*. 612 601

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close 61 551 • [361]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618

lack of depth in generations and therefore a lack of breadth in collateral relatives. Then, economic pressures and the resulting rather high degree of out-migration, often of whole family units, has restricted the expansion of local *tsu;* in fact, the size of village *tsu* may have almost reached a point of relative stability.

Part of the lack of an elaborate *tsu* organization in Hsin Hsing can be seen in the absence of significant formal *tsu* segmentation, i.e., into *fang*—a sub-*tsu*—or *chih*—a *tsu* branch. The lack of formal segmentary organization is most likely a function of small size—even the largest *tsu* organization has a population of only over one hundred, and several others are considerably smaller. All village *tsu* embrace groups of families in several lines of descent (Freedman might call them "sub-lineages" since each traces its origins to a son of the *tsu* founder) within which are families of more closely related kinsmen, such as the families of brothers. However, these sub-lineages neither have nor attempt to exert sociopolitical influence in the village; they depend upon their *tsu* organization to do this in their behalf. Again, this is a result of their relatively small size; it has prevented the evolution within the *tsu* of broad social differentiation and thus of sub-lineages wealthy enough to form new or separate formal segments by setting aside or donating property as corporate lineage property or for an ancestral hall. The fact is, formal segmentation of *tsu* as small as those of Hsin Hsing would "reduce the groups below the minimal functional size" (Geddes, 1963:30).

618
551

Before examining something of the activities of the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organizations, let us first turn to their composition. As noted earlier, there are twelve surnames among the ninety-nine family units in the village.[3] Four of these—Huang, Shih, K'ang, and Shen (in order of number of people)—make up 82 percent of the village population and 81 percent of the village households. Nearly every fourth villager is named Huang. Most of the Huangs belong to one *tsu*, tracing their common ancestry to one of the village founders. Aside from two small member households which live elsewhere in the village, the whole *tsu* membership lives in one large compound made up of two buildings, where each household has its own apartment. Three small Huang households do not belong to this *tsu* and live elsewhere in the village. (See Map 2.)

Each of the three other most common village surnames is found in at least two different kinship groups, some of large size and others of moderate size. But regardless of the number of member families, the members of such groups maintain themselves in some form of kinship organization and live in a compound together or in a small cluster of separate houses. Thus, the two kinship groupings with the surname Shih can be said to form two *tsu* organizations of an incipient form;

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small. Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Although they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins, however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 582
percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. 583
Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still 178
relatively important. These forms are especially important to rela- [184]
tively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin 583
Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the 597
mainland, refers to as the 171

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to 583
as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. How- 597
ever, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal 583
(or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to 591
live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families [612]
assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike [171]
similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband [551]
always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period.

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family.

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children.

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

to be inherited from her family, then no matter where the family lives, all the children are supposed to worship both sets of ancestors. If there is property, once the second child has received his inheritance he or she and the mother worship the mother's ancestors, while the father (adopted husband) and the children in his descent line worship his ancestors. When the second child (who has been given the mother's surname) is a girl, it is not unlikely that a husband will be brought in for her in order to carry on the maternal line. There are cases in Taiwan, and one in Hsin Hsing village, where a village family for several generations has become in a sense matrilineal as well as matrilocal, at least until a male heir is born.

Barclay (1954b:228–229) finds that this matrilocal form of marriage, where the husband is adopted and lives with his wife's family, has been very common in Taiwan for many years; between 1906 and 1930, 15 to 20 percent of all Taiwanese marriages were of this matrilocal type. However, the frequency of the practice has been decreasing, until in 1943 only 6.2 percent of all marriages in Taiwan were of this form (Barclay, 1954b:229, Table 69). Barclay notes that this decrease has been constant, for "when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage. Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior."

There are only six adopted husbands recorded for Hsin Hsing village. It is thus difficult to see any tendency toward or against the practice in Hsin Hsing village itself. These six adoptions have taken place since approximately 1900, and according to the present ages of the surviving men, four were adopted into the village well before World War II and only two were adopted afterward. These same records show that only one Hsin Hsing villager was adopted out of the village between 1949 and 1957.

Remarriage

According to the ideal norms of Chinese society a woman should marry only once, and a young widow who does not remarry is often greatly honored. A woman's natal family is responsible only for arranging her first marriage; any subsequent marriage is theoretically her own responsibility. The family of her first husband, whether he died or there was a divorce, also bears little responsibility for helping her to remarry.

In actuality, however, many divorced or widowed women do remarry. And a second marriage, although never given the same honor as the first marriage, may nevertheless be sanctioned by society accord-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others' is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

+596 her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few
574 nights or a few months.
602 When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I
had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother
* 159 to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname,
+596 but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I
599 dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise
+159 in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this,
+596 Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have
597 arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who
584 wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some
+159 doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong
+596 soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a
597 prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to
[548] include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the
• [551] professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[551] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

706 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
708 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
59

Family Surnames

• 551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

551
621
592

Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Tu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognised in official records and in formal village social organisation although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

583 the agreement is written in duplicate, one copy left on
584 the ancestor's table and the other burned in the ancestor's pot[9] to properly inform the ancestors.
769

583 The groom may or may not bring in ancestors of his
769 own for worship, i.e., an additional ancestor's pot. The
583 groom usually retains his own surname, but may assume his
• 551 wife's surname or even combine the two to produce a joint surname. There were none of the latter two currently in Sanlei but examples of each were found in T'oulei.

583 The most variance in marriage contract terms is
584 with reference to the surnames of the children. The range
551 is from all children assuming the groom's surname (two
851 cases) through half assuming each surname alternating in order of birth (three cases), to all assuming the bride's surname (one case). The most common pattern is for one child to assume the bride's surname and the rest the groom's (19 cases). In this arrangement, the one child is always either the first or second, usually with the bride's parents retaining a choice and not making it until immediately after the first child is born. If the first child is a boy, it will be assigned the mother's surname, but if the first child is a girl, frequently she will obtain the father's surname, with the second automatically assigned the mother's surname. In this case, the hope of the mother's parents is that the second child will be a male for a male child with the maternal grandfather's

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

surname is the best means for guaranteeing continuity of worship.

The process, or combination of processes described above, may be quite extensive, i.e., they may be repeated in successive generations if no male is produced. One extreme example is illustrated by the case of Liao Chi-cheng (Figure 7) who is now age 80 and the most educated man in his generation. Liao (1) had no children but adopted a daughter (2) and later adopted in a husband for

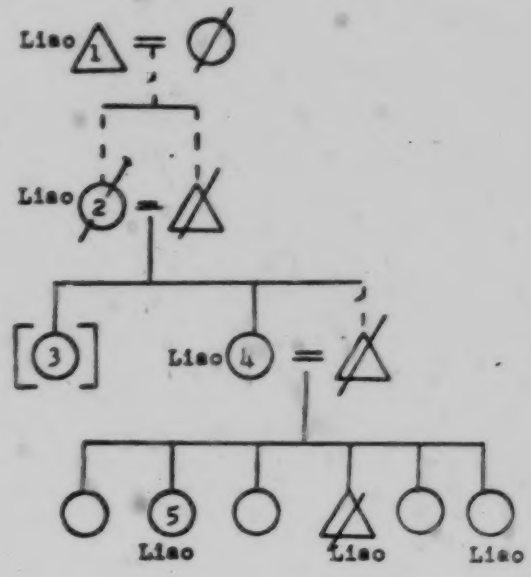

Figure 7. Kinship Diagram, Liao Chi-cheng Chia (All above individuals surnamed Liao are so noted.)

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 The second area difficult to classify revolves
538 around another kind of question as to whether or not des-
• 551 cent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

• 551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 783 After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the 846 baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 824 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this 831 resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

593 opera. A few older couples may hold hands in public at
[178] night if it is dark. Today, many young couples do things together that their parents would never have dared such as going to a movie together.

• [551] Terms of address between married couples are difficult for use of the given name or an affectionate name is improper and there is no appropriate term of address until after a child is born when teknonomy can be used. Before the birth of the first child, they just avoid addressing each other with a term. A woman often "follows her children" in using their terms for her husband's relatives. While a woman does have a term used for address and reference, "Kuan - ren" , which roughly translates as "lord and master," the term should not be interpreted as descriptive of the relationship. Like many terms, it has a meaning not directly based on its roots as illustrated by the fact that it is not too uncommon to hear a woman address her husband as follows, "Lord and Master! Go feed the pigs. Right now!"

Women have much control in the household. They very frequently control the household budget, doling out money to husbands as needed and even when the husband is fully in charge or where there is shared control, the woman still does much of the shopping for everyone agrees women can best bargain to obtain lower prices. In general, the longer the marriage lasts, the greater the amount of power the woman acquires. Of course, there are many exceptions. If she is